

# WHO ARE THE FASCISTS?

OUR HEARTS ARE on the Left. Emotionally we share the humanitarian aspirations of the Left. Intellectually one has one's doubts of the value of the type of counter demonstration which culminated in the death by police violence of Kevin Gately, the twenty-one year old Warwick University student but emotionally our sympathies are for that cruelly terminated life.

It was obvious from newspaper pictures of crowds with Kevin Gately at six foot five towering over the others that he was a prime target for police violence and a man unlikely to be swept off his feet or, as the Guardian's wet-leg headline has it: "Dead student fell under the crush during clashes". It is particularly significant and sinister that on the 13th of June the Metropolitan Commissioner of Police, Sir Robert

Mark, in an interview with the Guardian on crime in London, speaking about demonstrations arranged in London 'at the drop of a hat' said:

"Go upstairs and you'll see a batting list (our underlining) of twelve demonstrations to come, and this will mean cancellation of days off -- to the annoyance of wives. 'Demo strain' caused by the police becoming a target for the emotions of the demonstrators is another unattractive feature of the job." Kevin Gateley was obviously a victim of 'demo strain' -- and of the 'batting'.

The pusillanimous Sunday Telegraph in an account of the police riot writes: "As hundreds of policemen, some mounted and with batons drawn, tried to keep the screaming rival factions apart,

men and women staggered away bleeding from their faces."

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It is also obvious that the clash between the demonstrators and the National Front and the police and the demonstrators was neither unexpected or spontaneous. The booking for Liberation at Conway Hall was made on June 4 and the National Front booking was on April 30.

On Thursday June 13th The Guardian's Martin Walker in "Open File" anticipated trouble. In his column he counselled that "Peace-loving citizens may be well advised to stay clear of the West End of London on Saturday afternoon" (15 June). He pointed out

Continued on Back Page

## Ireland NO-JURY TRIAL

THE six Dublin libertarians facing a battery of charges including conspiracy, armed robbery and possession of explosives have now been returned for trial without jury at the Special Criminal Court in Dublin. The trial date has not yet been definitely fixed but July 8 has been suggested as the earliest possible date. Bail in the sum of £5,000 was fixed in the cases of Noel Murray, Des Keane and Eddie Jones, and friends and relations are hoping to get them out.

The Irish Embassy in London was picketed on June 12 by anarchists demanding "No Frame-up of Dublin Libertarians" and "No Trial Without Jury". A picket will also be mounted when the trial begins.

Bob Cullen writing from the Curragh Military Camp where five of the six are detained, makes two important points:

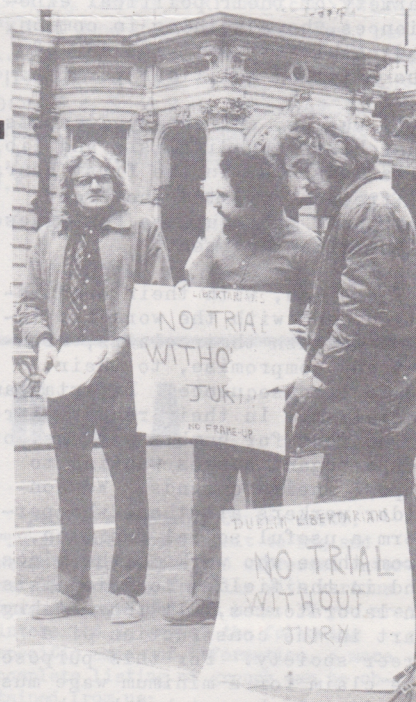
(1) None of the six is a member of the New Earth Group although statements from New Earth have suggested that this is the case. However, Noel, Marie and Bob had met members of New Earth and agreed to co-operate with them in the production of a new libertarian paper, Resis-

tance. In fact, there had been only three such meetings. Bob writes: "This is a point we have continuously pointed out - though mostly in 'mislaidd' letters apparently - as it would greatly assist the State if we had in fact all been members of one organisation, which we never have been, from the point of view of the conspiracy charge."

(2) Bob understands that someone has been trying to collect money on their behalf in England. He stresses that they are not in need of anything and that they believe that others have greater need. He also warns everyone in Britain to be careful of anyone purporting to raise funds on their behalf.

Very few letters have been allowed to reach the five in military custody and their replies are usually confiscated. However they are very eager to receive letters so please write to them.\* If you do not receive a reply it means that their mail has been confiscated so complain to the Commanding Officer of the camp. Obviously, do not write anything which could be used by the prosecution in their trial.

T. P.



\*The address is:-

Bob Cullen, Eddie Jones, Des Keane, Columba Longmore and Noel Murray, Detention Centre, Curragh Military Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

INSIDE --- ...Italy...

Portugal...Japan...

War and Fascism

Come the revolution...



# Portugal: ANARCHIST REVIVAL

The Provisional Committee for Relations of the Portuguese Libertarian Movement made public, in early June, the following communiqué:

MEN WITH experience of bitter struggles against fascism, who have all been in the hands of the PIDE (Portuguese secret police), who have been deported to the colonies, to the fortresses of Penide and Terceira Island (Azores), to the penitentiaries of Lisbon and Coimbra; militants of the Confederacao Geral do Trabalho, and its daily paper A BATALHA, which for many years gave a direction to the struggles of Portuguese workers, to underground activities, to the organisation of the Libertarian Youth movement, to the protest against the 2% levy on workers' wages which, in certain parts of the country, attained insurrectionary proportions, creating the necessary conditions for the popular uprising of 18th January, 1934. . .

These were the libertarians. . . They are now being joined by new comrades, men, women, young people who have only known the darkness of oppression, clandestine struggle, the jails of the PIDE/DGS, and who because of the great variety of their political experiences, have nothing in common, and nothing to do, with any of the existing political parties.

It was us, anarcho-syndicalists, anarchists, syndicalists and libertarians, who, in the first hours of freedom, created the Front, which now makes up the Portuguese Libertarian Movement.

These men, with their organisation, and with the workers, intend to push their claims, without any compromise, to their logical consequence: Libertarian Socialism. In their ranks, there is no room for humble workers, or for arrogant bosses wanting to impose their commands. We consider workers all those who perform a useful social function, from those who work in the mines and in the fields, to scientists in laboratories, all those taking part in the construction of a freer society. For this purpose, the claim for a minimum wage must immediately be matched by the establishment of a maximum salary. No more bread-line wages, no more scandalously high salaries.

## WHERE ARE WE GOING ?

1. We are working for the construction of a syndicalist organisation of workers, free of all external control, based on single-industry unions (of all workers therein), local federations of trade unions, and a

federation of industries, up to the re-organisation of our Confederacao do Trabalho.

2. And we start by urging all workers, manual or intellectual, to organise councils in their factories, or offices, and other work-places, as the real basis of a union organisation, which will enable them to formulate claims and gain practical experience of syndicalist self-management -- the best base for the construction of a non-authoritarian socialist society, without imposed dogmas, a society without classes, based on the conscious association of all.

3. We are working for the diffusion of a culture which gives people the proper human dignity of being able to determine their own lives.

4. We propose to study, independently of any political compromises, the genuine claims of workers, and the problems of co-operation between town and country, and between manual workers and technologists.

5. We are working for a free socialism, based on the people and springing from them, through the association of people in their multifarious activities, specifically through freely-associating regional councils, which, as its living cells, will constitute the country.

6. As defenders of the right of peoples to decide their own fates, we condemn wars of all kinds, and believe that it is up to the people now in the colonies, regardless of race, to create their own communities with equal rights for all.

We are the standard-bearers of the First International: The emancipation of the workers will be achieved by the workers themselves! Our past is the guarantee of the firmness of our principles in the face of the task awaiting us in the future. We are two generations, the one of the Twenties, after half a century, meeting the one of the Seventies, and together we will continue the struggle for a freer society. Comrade libertarians, organise your working groups, and let us get together! Our Committee for Relations, until the organisation of a national libertarian conference, will have its headquarters at:

Rua Angelina Vidal 17-2°-Esquad  
Lisboa 1 -- Portugal.

We seek contacts with all groups and comrades who are isolated, and we should like to start receiving from now on the necessary dona-

tions for propaganda activities.

Please send any books, pamphlets, etc. on anarchism/donations to the above address.

## IN BRIEF

Staff from the Commission on Industrial Relations (now being wound up) held a one-day strike to protest against redundancy terms.

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The police national computer which should be fully operational by 1980, will, said Lord Harris, Minister of State at the Home Office, make it harder for unauthorized people to get hold of police information. When the computer is fully operational it would be the largest data retrieval system of its kind in Europe. It would store more than 5,000 million characters of information.

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ABOUT 124,000 SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN REPORTED KILLED, WOUNDED OR MISSING SINCE THE AGREEMENT TO STOP FIGHTING IN VIETNAM, A YEAR AGO. CASUALTIES IN THE PAST YEAR INCLUDED 45,855 COMMUNIST TROOPS KILLED BY GOVERNMENT FORCES, 12,817 GOVERNMENT TROOPS AND OVER 4,000 CIVILIANS KILLED.

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The Spanish government has seized the June edition of the liberal-leaning Cuadernos Para el Dialogo which was devoted mainly to Portugal. The provocative cover depicted a carnation growing out of and splitting open a huge block of stone.

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The Morning Star on Saturday, 15 June carried at the bottom of a front-page column the following story (in full) headed "Panovs Lose Child": "Leningrad ballet star Valery Panov and his wife left the Soviet Union yesterday for Israel. Before he left Mr. Panov stated Galina who had been expecting their first child had a miscarriage earlier in the week."

Sancho Panza.

## NEW CONTACT POINT IN BEDFORDSHIRE

A community enterprise has been started in Luton under the name of Partisan Books. They say "a wide range of socialist books, pamphlets & posters available" but they also have anarchist publications, including "Freedom". The address is 34 Dallow Road, Luton, and they are open weekdays 12 noon to 8 p.m., Sats. 9 a.m. to 7 p.m.



LONDON E1 Phone 01-247 9249

photo by P.D.

\*Published in War Commentary, Mid-December 1943, --Eds.



# Valpreda

# SCAPEGOATS OF THE FASCIS



FIAT Workers Demonstrating

ITALY HAS been plunged into so many economic and financial crises since the war that one has lost count. Now, according to the press, Italy has become the weakest partner in the new enlarged Common Market and its inability to solve these problems is shaking the foundations of the E.E.C. The country needs a massive loan of capital from the International Monetary Fund but the terms on which this money could be given were not acceptable to the trade unions and to the different parties making up the Christian Democrat and Socialist coalition. The terms were the usual list of higher taxes and credit restrictions which would bring a recession from which the working class would obviously be the sufferers.

President Leone has now refused to accept the government's resignation. Italy is virtually without centralised government. In fact, the Italian nation state in historical terms is a recent creation and has never really come to terms with the centralisation necessary for the development of capitalism. The centres of power are industry, the police and armed forces and now the working class.

In recent years this working class has forced concessions from the employers. Even the multinational corporation of Fiat needs government subsidies and there is talk of a state takeover or a foreign buyer. Fiat in the last five years have invested \$1 billion and taken on 30,000 more people but output has remained unchanged. The working class has gained a shorter working week and higher

wages and generally improved their working conditions at the expense of the employers' profit.

To combat this militancy which was beginning to have revolutionary potential a "climate of fear" was created with numerous deadly bombings. Fascist groups with financial backing from business interests, help from politicians and close collaboration of the police have created this fear in order to discredit the 'left', and to put an end to the growing strength of the working class. To some degree they succeeded because the bomb planted at the Banca dell' Agricoltura in Milan and the subsequent arrest of anarchists did cool things down.

This 'climate of fear' was and, if recent bombings are any indication, is aimed at bringing about a situation where the middle classes demand firm government. Such firm government would mean a coup d'etat. The Italian fascists have links with the Greek regime and the political police squad also have had instructions from the American C.I.A. Now arms dumps are being found at a number of fascist training camps. Evidence points to a fascist takeover of State power. It now remains to be seen whether in the present crisis they will continue with their bombings in the hope that they can seize power. Certainly such a seizure would not necessarily be unwelcomed by "democratic states". We have witnessed the army takeover in Greece and its acceptance without very many tears being shed.

But throughout this time anarchists have spent long periods in jail. Others, like Giuseppe Pinelli, have been murdered. Two recent programmes on the television series "Europa" have clearly recorded the fascist police collaboration with these bombings and use of anarchists as scapegoats for outrages. The first programme gave overwhelming evidence that fascists were responsible for the killing of 16 people and injuries to 19 at the bank in Milan. It gave film interviews of fascists who spilled tye beans and who later died under mysterious circumstances. It traced the arrest of two fascists who were later charged with the same bombing as Valpreda. The second programme dealt with Pinelli's murder by the police (see "Pinelli Assassinato", this issue).

The latest bombing at Brescia during an anti-fascist rally shows that the fascists are still carrying on with their campaign of terror and fear. Six people lay dead and 94 were injured. Fascist paramilitary training camps have been raided and a shoot-out occurred at an Apennines mountain camp and one person was killed and two injured.

A four-hour general strike in protest against the Brescia bombing brought industry to a standstill. However, unlike the December 12, 1969 bombings the authorities have not automatically accused the 'left' or "the anarchists and all these workers' control people". President Leone said that the Brescia killings were "clear evidence of an attempt by tiny and squalid minorities to throw the state and nation into chaos". It is just such a situation that the fascists want for their takeover. It must be remembered that the fascists gained 3 million votes at the last elections. The ideas of Mussolini are still widespread and many of his supporters are in the police force and have positions of authority. The police is also one of the largest and best-trained in Europe.

Now the Supreme Court has ruled Valpreda's trial null and void. They are not saying that Valpreda did not plant the Milan bank bomb, but want his case to die a silent death. But Valpreda has spent most of the last 4 years in prison during which time his health has suffered. The State should not be allowed to forget its deliberate



# ST — PINELLI ASSASSINATO

ON TUESDAY, 11th June BBC2 showed a Swedish TV film on the death of our Italian comrade Giuseppe Pinelli. Unfortunately it told us nothing new about his death, but brought to a wider public the reason for his death, the Italian state's cover up of the affair, the fascist influence in the police force, and the mounting wave of fascist violence (of which the recent bomb explosion at an anti-fascist meeting in Brescia killing seven people is the latest manifestation).

Pinelli, a railway worker and anarchist militant, was taken to the Milan police headquarters for questioning about a bomb explosion in a Milan bank that killed 16 people in December 1969. During the interrogation, however, our comrade 'fell' from the third floor window of the room in which he was being held. He died on the way to hospital. At first the police said he had committed sui-

cide, but after much protest from Licia (Pinelli's widow) and the newspaper Lotta Continua, Pinelli's corpse was exhumed for examination and a judicial investigation was held. The investigation concluded that Pinelli's 'fall' from the window was 'aided' (which is the same thing as saying he was thrown, but the police nor the state will admit this). Yet despite the result of the investigation none of the six policemen who were at the interrogation were charged with Pinelli's death.

Since the investigation, the policeman in charge of our comrade's interrogation (and the man who gave the order to throw him out of the window), Luigi Calabresi, brought legal action against the editor of Lotta Continua for libel (the newspaper had called Calabresi a murderer); but in May 1972 he was killed by an 'unknown' gunman. As Cala-

bresi was making a fool of himself during the libel case his assassin may well have been a fascist wanting to shut him up.

It is now five years since Giuseppe Pinelli fell to his death from that police station window. His widow is, now more than ever, fighting for the truth of her husband's death. Not half truths that the police/state hand out. The Italian state, in trying to conceal the truth, shows that it not only condones police and fascist violence but also actively supports and uses it.

D. P.

For more information on the Pinelli and the Valpreda affair see The Italian State Massacre, published by Libertaria Books 1972; copies of which are still available at Freedom Bookshop price 30p (post 6p).

## 132 EXPLOSIONS IN SIX MONTHS

In the "never-ending audacity of elected persons" Mr. Heath exaggerates the shock and horror felt by the whole country when the Commons receives a portent of the political bombs of which up to now the blast has been mainly felt by the common people. Why is it that the people who get hurt by insurrectionary bombs are nearly always workers?

Mr. Nixon completed a jubilant "peace in the Middle East" tour without a word on the plight of the Palestinian people, and as his plane was cheered on its way out, Israeli planes sped on a postponed revenge bombing raid on Lebanon country, said to be farmland.

M.C.

collaboration with the fascists to discredit the anarchists and the working class movement. For if the fascists do attempt another march on Rome it is the sort of industrial action that was used to protest the Brescia bombing that will prevent another fascist dictatorship. The political and economic situation might suit a fascist coup d'etat, but it could also lead to a social revolution with people running and controlling their own lives. It is to this end we should all work.

P. T.

## PUBLIC ORDER

COUNSEL FOR THE PROSECUTION opened his case:

"The accused in the dock and court are charged with an offence against the Public Order Act that they did on several occasions proceed in the City of London attired in such a manner as to make it known that they were the upholders of certain political, social, and, one might say, economic doctrines; and furthermore proceeding in such numbers as to seriously alarm members of the public.

"It has been and will be shown that the doctrine to which they express their adherence is such to be abhorrent to decent-thinking men. It is responsible for untold misery and widespread destruction. It is responsible for the break-up of many families and the impoverishment of many individuals. It is, in its broadest sense hostile to human life. It is based upon human greed, ambition, cupidity and acquisition fostering not society but the war of each against

all in the guise of a credible and valid philosophy.

"This creed, to which their formal costume shows their adherence, is responsible daily for the death and mutilation of many throughout the world. It can be shown that this pernicious doctrine is responsible for widespread unrest and national conflicts.

"Day after day these men parade through the city about their nefarious business. Although a considerable proportion of support comes from many dressed in more normal accoutrements, the usual dress of these advocates of a divisive and destructive social doctrine is bowler hats and pin-striped trousers; they usually carry that offensive weapon, the rolled umbrella, with an identifying pink newspaper under their arm or carried in the omnipresent brief case. It is my contention that these men in the dock being so hideously and so identically garbed did deliberately do so to signify their upholding of the obnoxious doctrine of Capitalism and its Continental concomitant laissez faire."

Jack Spratt.



# JAPAN

LIBERTARIAN ACTIVITY  
IN JAPAN TODAY

To put more life into international activity than is apparent today, we, Japanese anarchists, intend to set up a permanent bureau whose particular aim will be to establish correspondence and to exchange news of present-day activity through papers and pamphlets. The bureau in Japan will attempt to organise an international alliance with those countries in S.E. Asia already subject to invasion by Japanese imperialism.

Before the last war, and during the active life of the A.F.J. (Anarchist Federation of Japan) up to its dissolution in 1968, our distinguished predecessors, Taiji Yamaga and his comrades, initiated and carried out international activities in the name of the A.F.J. They rendered great service to international anarchism. At present we are attempting, not without difficulty, to make contact with overseas organisations. We hope to take up where Yamaga and his comrades left off, in spite of these last six years of inactivity in the anarchist movement.

To tell the truth, Japanese leftist movements since 1957 (when the A.F.J. had been in existence for 11 years, but without any great influence) had very often been too idealist and distant from revolutionary action. Of course, the power of the Japanese bourgeoisie was much less in evidence than it is today. The resurrection, or rather, growth of a modernised imperialism became more and more apparent with the policies of the Ikeda government (1960-64) especially in its reorganisation of economic structures. Several large business empires which had been broken up by MacArthur were reorganised into cohesive financial clans. These were preparations for the creation of new outlets abroad, principally in S.E. Asia. Ikeda's successor, Sato (1964-72) carried out, as is well known, a policy that was of the utmost provocation to these countries, namely his strengthening of the armed forces (with the support of the bourgeoisie), but his overall strategy was successful in opening up new markets in these countries gradually and imperceptibly, its biggest and easiest gains being during the Indochinese war.

Students protested against the government's policies; and in the ensuing battles, in which we Japanese anarchists nearly always fought alongside leftists, the black helmet and the black flag reappeared, and our influence increased even though we no longer had any national anarchist organisation. We were right to fight, in the actual situation we found ourselves in, that is, ignorant of the existence of the A.F.J. and consequently of its dissolution.

Nevertheless, we are sure that a national organisation is needed. In a certain sense the stagnation and confused activity of the Japanese anarchist movement in these last few years have been the painful birth of a new generation. And now an important piece of news.

There is now a new group in Kyoto, which is in the front line of activity: for instance, it brought together more than 400 young comrades in a meeting to commemorate the murder of the anarchist militant, Sakae Osugi (an important fig-

## Review

# The New Holy Trinity

BREAK-OUT FROM THE CRYSTAL PALACE. The Anarcho-Psychological Critique: Stirner, Nietzsche, Dostoevsky. By John Carroll. Routledge and Kegan Paul, £ 4.50.

In "Break-out From the Crystal Palace", John Carroll uses the work of Stirner, Nietzsche and Dostoevsky in an attempt to construct an "anarcho-psychological critique" as a contrast to what he considers to be the reigning social philosophies of Western society: liberal-rationalism and Marxist-socialism. He defines "anarcho-psychology" as focussing "on the individual psyche as the exclusive structuring of ultimate value", and isolating "ideology as the primary social weapon for subjugating this unique entity to group norms and group practice".

For those who are prepared to brave his sometimes jaw-breaking sociological jargon, Carroll's book contains much of interest. Its theme is complicated and often doubtful, but the questions that it raises are important and stimulating. Its author's evident sympathy towards an "individualist orientation in...social analysis" makes a refreshing and welcome change from the prevailing collectivism of left, right and centre.

I have to admit, however, that I am sceptical of the value of making Nietzsche and Dostoevsky into the intellectual bedfellows of Max Stirner (not to mention astonishing assertions like, "Rudolph

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ure in the pre-war movement). More and more, this group is posing the problem of the reconstruction of the A.F.J. The Kokko-sha (Black Light Group) of Kyoto is promoting this movement vigorously, and is firmly in favour of a national organisation, believing that the moment is ripe for the reconstruction of the A.F.J. The group is composed of students, ex-students, and some leftists who are actively anti-state, but also a little gossipy and given to intrigue.

It is to be hoped that the Reconstruction of the A.F.J will soon occur.

Taken from "Informations Explicatives du Japon" no. 2, a bulletin published in Paris by G. Iicawa, 1st June 1974.

Steiner was a devoted follower of Stirner from early in his career."!) There are undoubtedly certain affinities between the critiques of Stirner and Nietzsche, but they are not after the same things and in the end their philosophies lead in opposite directions. Dostoevsky was certainly obsessed with the question that if God did not exist, then all would be permitted, but his anguish that this could be the case drove him into a tortuous Christian mysticism that was completely alien to Stirner and loathed by Nietzsche (despite his admiration for Dostoevsky as a psychologist).

In fact, Carroll's efforts to constitute a new holy trinity force him into making some very questionable statements. He refers to both Stirner and Nietzsche's "anarchism", for instance, but while he gives ample evidence for the anarchism of Stirner, he gives none for that of Nietzsche - which is not surprising, since there isn't any. He also brackets Stirner and Nietzsche and Dostoevsky as being exclusively concerned with those few and significant moments in the individual's life which "are the mystical, the ecstatic moments, those of intense suffering, the crucial turning points". Dostoevsky? Certainly. Nietzsche? Well, yes. Stirner? Who does he think he's kidding? On his own showing, Stirner's "existentialism" is without angst (anguish).

Despite all this, and the rest, however, "Break-Out From The Crystal Palace" deserves a place on the reading list of anyone interested in extending the anarchist critique of the State and its structure of formal laws.

S.E.Parker

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NEW BOOKS AND PERIODICALS IN BRIEF.  
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### Germany

The Anarchist Group of Wetzlar have started publishing a bi-monthly magazine called "Freie Presse". One year's subscription is 10 DM. (+ something for postage). The group have also written a basic introductory text on anarchism, entitled "Was ist Anarchismus", now in its 3rd edition, 100 pages long, and costing 3 DM. The group run a bookshop-library-archive, and are interested in acquiring material for it. As they can't afford to subscribe, they will exchange three copies of what they publish for three copies of anything you publish. Interested comrades should write to: "Impulso"-Buchladen, 633 Wetzlar, Postfach 1704, West Germany.

### Catalonia

A new book, in French, on the struggles of the Anarchists in Catalonia during the Spanish Civil War, has been published in Paris by Editions Mame, (307 pages, price: 37 Fr.) It is called "Revolucion et contre-revolution en Catalogne", and is written by Carlos Semprun Maura. It received a generally favourable review - by Frank Mintz - in the June 1974 issue of 'Frente Libertario'.



# LETTERS

## "COME THE REVOLUTION..."

WAYS & MEANS -- to  
Autonomy...Self-sufficiency  
...Freedom

Dear Comrades,

I'm glad Pat Murtagh (FREEDOM 8 June) approves of my stated goal (11 May) of an integrated personal/productive life through self-sufficiency and decentralization. Cde Murtagh seems to feel that I should have provided a blueprint for how to achieve this and how to solve certain problems that can be anticipated. If I had tried to do that I would really be utopian. The word utopia is unpleasant to most people including me because a literary utopia is a blueprint: everything perfect, everything accounted for, nothing allowed to slip through the net. Bad cess to it. I don't know how to achieve my goal or how to solve all the problems connected with it. I have a few concrete ideas and am always trying to think of more, but only the combined ingenuity of everyone recognizing the need for such a society and believing in its possibility can bring it about on a large and permanent scale. I welcome your own practical suggestions, Cde Murtagh, if you're sincere in saying you agree with me.

Decentralization means no blueprint for the process of revolution either. Pat Murtagh says that syndicates are necessary, but they're centralized either regionally or industrially and so it would be naive to think they can bring about decentralization. A revolution which will, will consist of small groups, communities, and individuals -- the same units as will have autonomy afterwards -- rebelling in their own ways and creating their self-sufficiency as best they can. But the goal of total revolution will be accepted by everyone before this happens, not because you or I have persuaded people of it, but because only such a goal can provide the motive power and energy required to produce revolution. People are sick of industrially-oriented revolutionary programmes because they know that those programmes are just more of what they're used to.

Obviously it would be inconsistent with this view to want to force everyone to live in garden communities or impose any other way of life on everyone. If I seemed to stress agriculture it was because (1) I was discussing a theory of previous agricultural societies and (2) more important, agriculture is a necessary part of self-sufficiency. Agriculture is compatible with towns, with home and village manufacture, with worldwide exchange of information and art, with trade in luxuries. What creates inequity is reliance on outside sources for what you absolutely need -- as is the case, ironically, in this highly-developed economy where we're supposed to be centuries removed from subsistence living but where you will starve if the state removes your chance to obtain money. As I said, I hope even the individual may be self-sufficient in a future society. I hope there will be hermits, nuclear families, communes, the lot. (A comrade who is currently moving away from a rural life but still believes in some of its ad-

vantages suggests, just for an example, the possibility of land verges and giant green-houses in cities.) The one thing which everyone would have in common would be freedom from economic domination -- including, to be sure, that by the community she/he lives in. Under complete decentralization, if you're not happy in one place you can go elsewhere or live on your own. I assume this freedom isn't something you would need to impose, or by definition could impose.

It wasn't my aim to provide a blueprint, but to present a more attractive goal than the ones which so many anarchists take for granted. Of course it won't be accomplished in one week of machiner-smashing. But you have to define goals before you can find ways and means. Otherwise you just leap on the nearest bandwagon and rush off going nowhere. Once you have a good goal, even one so different from present society as to provoke the label 'utopian', far from being faced with a choice between inactivity or irrelevant activity, you find that the goal determines the character of every action you take on the issues you meet every day. On every issue there are possible actions which imply an authoritarian-centralist goal, and possible actions which imply the opposite. E.g. you can squat in a house in the hope of pressuring the council to rehouse you, or you can fight to hold on to your territory.

One practical thing which interests me is self-employment. There are people who call themselves anarchists who have jumped onto the anti-lump bandwagon -- actually opposing workers' right to be contract rather than wage workers, and to withhold tax from the state. I am trying to promote the Solidarity pamphlet exposing this view for the bureaucratic one that it is. I am also starting an informal contact network of home typists to try and make this trade more profitable for myself and the many other (mostly) women in it. Working at home and selling your work is a long way from the self-sufficiency of growing your own food -- but it's much closer to it than workers' control of the typing pool.

For another example, I agree with what Sam Cohen says about dropping out, in the same issue as your letter. One drop-out who 'does nothing' politically (except confront and reject the state every minute) is at least as useful to anarchism as one wage-slave, or one privileged sinecure-holder, respectively compensating and atoning for that situation by going to anarchist meetings and demos.

Any act which helps to de-institutionalize society, to remove the need for authoritative seals of approval, licences, mandates, permits for every breath we draw, is a step towards anarchism. Any act which aims simply at setting up new institutions is a step away from it, whatever the people doing it choose to call themselves.

We must all try to find more practical ways of replacing this society with the sort we want. Man, it's not easy! If ease of achievement is your criterion you might as well opt for the status quo.

Yours sincerely,

Kathy Perlo.

## FREE SPEECH

Dear Editors,

I find it curious that in the current debate on "free speech" the main issue appears to be whether or not anarchists should disrupt "fascist meetings". <sup>1</sup>See FREEDOM 25 May & 8 June.

It is certainly true that under fascist regimes all open anarchist activity was and is suppressed. This is also true of the various marxist socialist regimes (Russia, China, Cuba etc.) but I have yet to see any correspondent suggest the disruption of their supporters' meetings. Why not? If the disrupters' reasoning holds true about the fascists it surely holds true about the C.P.'ers, Maoists, Castroists and so on, who are just as much enemies of anarchism. Or could it be that the disrupters are so possessed by the leftist myth that they think there is some qualitative difference between fascists and the various bolshevik outfits?

Yours sincerely,

S. E. Parker.

## PRESS FUND

### Contributions

6 - 12 June

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: S.S. £ 8.25; LOS GATOS, Calif.: PART PROCEEDS FROM PICNIC June 26 at Santa Teresa Park, per L.M.: £ 20.40; LONDON SE9: A.T. 38p; PITTSBURGH, Pa.: R.O.S. £ 1.55; LONDON E.4: S. & A.G. 50p; BARCELONNETTE, France: T.P. 50p; LONDON WCL: P.H. 25p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p.

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## U.S.A.

People's Resource Center write: "During our recent visit to England, we met with people who expressed interest in becoming familiar with various movement publications here. If you are interested in any of the following specific areas of information, a more complete listing of groups can be obtained from us:

Anti-war organizing; community organizing; ecology; economic alternatives; education; fund raising; gay liberation; health; international communities; labour; law; media; men's role liberation; mental health liberation; native people; prison; radicals in the system; research; third world; women's liberation; youth liberation."

Their address is:

People's Resource Center,  
People's Town Hall,  
488 New York Avenue,  
HUNTINGTON, NY 11743, U.S.A.



the impending clash, emphasizing the National Front's increasing belligerence with Spearhead featuring articles headed "Red Violence : Will we have to meet force with force?"

On June 11th Peter Cadogan, General Secretary of the South Place Ethical Society put out a press statement justifying his letting of rooms at Conway Square to the National Front. Peter Cadogan puts forward the conventional rationalist arguments for freedom of speech. He concludes, "We give due notice that the freedom of speech will continue at Conway Hall and that those who make or threaten any assault upon it will, in so doing, forfeit their own right to meet here for such a period as we shall determine." We have known Peter Cadogan for some time and whilst we respect his liberal views he has never had the logicity to develop an anarchist position. In any case Conway Hall has to cover its overhead expenses. Nevertheless it has not always, prior to Peter Cadogan's secretaryship, been possible for anarchists to hold meetings at Conway Hall.

The question of whether freedom of speech should be allowed to those who do not believe in freedom of speech is a complex one. A recent article in FREEDOM prompted by the National Union of Students' resolution has sparked off some correspondence which is still continuing.

It is claimed that the rise of the National Front and the spread of their hateful doctrine makes it imperative to take some positive action against them. Saturday's demo with its tragic result is part of this.

The parallel with the rise of Hitler is urged but it is often forgotten that the Communists collaborated from time to time with the Nazis; particularly in attacks on the Social Democrats. It is not to be wondered at that the Nazi-Soviet pact went through when it is in the authoritarian aspects of the Left-wing parties that they meet and fuse with Right-wing authoritarians. It is also commonly observed that the easy 'conversion' or transition from Communism to Right-wing views was one of the factors in the rise of fascism.

In any case the real 'fascist' behaviour on Saturday was on the part of the police who are an accepted part of a democratic society. A socialist society will doubtless utilize policemen. Possibly the enemies of society (like Allende's enemies) are within, not the extremist nuts like the National Front who are outsiders.

Jack Robinson.

## Review

# MAXIMOFF'S CREED

G. P. MAXIMOFF, the Russian anarcho-syndicalist refugee from Bolshevik Russia, died in the United States in 1950, and soon afterwards the Maximoff Memorial Publication Committee published a collection of his writings called Constructive Anarchism. This opened with a short essay called "My Social Credo", which had originally appeared in Russian as a pamphlet in 1933. This essay was republished as a pamphlet called My Social Credo by the Boris Yelensky Book Fund in 1973 (now available from Freedom Bookshop at 20p, plus 3 p), with a prefatory note by Boris Yelensky and a biographical note extracted from Rudolf Rocker's foreword to Maximoff's edition of The Political Philosophy of Michael Bakunin (1951).

The essay itself is a 6,000-word text which analyses capitalism on Marxist lines; attacks the state capitalism established by the Russian Revolution; summarises Maximoff's own position as a revolutionary, an anarchist, a confederalist, a communalist, an individualist, a communist, a syndicalist, an anti-militarist, an atheist, a constructionist, and a realist; and outlines the "Communist-Syndicalist regime" which he recommends for the "inevitable Transition Period from capitalism to an evolving anarchist communism".

Maximoff had strongly opposed the pseudo-Bolshevism of the Platform in 1927 for its authoritarian tendencies, and he takes care to allow for the needs of individualism in social, political and economic life after the revolution; but his ideas for the organisation of society depend almost entirely on producers' and consumers' communes or collectives, with some room for looser cooperatives of individual workers and others, and his emphasis on people as economic units strikes a disturbing note today when the libertarian movement is trying to get back to seeing people primarily as people and work as something less than life.

Yelensky introduces the pamphlet by hoping that "the younger generation will profit by its combination of lofty idealism with a practical libertarian program". It might be more useful as a discussion text, taken alongside -- say -- Murray Bookchin's essay on "Forms of Freedom" and Paul Cardan's Solidarity pamphlet on Workers' Councils and the Economics of a Self-Managed Society. These are crucial questions for anarchists and we ought to have made some progress over the past forty years.

N. W.

## contact

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursdays from 2 p.m. at Freedom Press, followed by get-together with refreshments.

Tom Taylor, now living at 30 Melbreak Ave., Cockermouth, Cumbria would like his friend Mr. Dodds to get into touch with him.

BUILDING COLLECTIVE needs one or two more members with some building experience Conversion of house to community centre near Finsbury Park, and other jobs. Ring Dick/Alison at 263 2111.

ANARCHIST women's group meets Mondays Tel ephone 01-883 2457 for details

BLACKBURN anarchist group forming. Please contact Keith Sowerby (correspondence only) 150 Shorrock Lane, Blackburn BB2 4TT Lancs

CENTRO IBERICO meets Sats & Suns 7.00 p.m. at 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (side entrance Steele's Rd. Bus 31 or 68, tube Chalk Farm or Belsize Park.

EVERY SATURDAY Mental Patients Union, 2 p.m. 37 Mayola Road, London E.5. (tel. 01-986 5251). Contact same address for information on activities elsewhere.

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM N. IRELAND campaign still continues. Info., leaflets & from BWNIC, c/o 3 Caledonian Rd. London N1

DIRECT ACTION paper of Syndicalist Workers Federation, monthly 5p + post; sub. £1 SWF c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester M13.

WILDCAT monthly anarchist bulletin (pro tem) 5p + post. Send details demos, groups to WILDCAT, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

UNITY THEATRE Case for a Rebel by Emmanuel Robles (Dutch Indonesia 1948). Fri., Sat. & Sun. until Jul 6, 7.45 p.m. (Tel. 01-387 8647). July 10-28 guest company The Women's Company in Go West Young Woman

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES says "If we do not get a healthier bank balance our civil liberties as well as everyone else's will be in even greater jeopardy". Send donation/ask for details of membership NCCL 186 Kings Cross Road, London WC1X 9DE (tel. 0p-278 4575)

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Robert Cullen, Eddie Jones, Demond Keane, Columba Longmore, Noel Murry all remanded in Detention Centre, Curragh Military Camp, Ireland, wd. like to hear from comrades.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Solidarity Committee, 54 Harcombe Road, London N.15.

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO. Letters, postcards to Giovanni Marini, Carcere di Potenza, 85100 POTENZA, Italy Still awaiting trial after 2 years in gaol.

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# S OF THE FASCISTS — PINELLI ASSASSINATO

But throughout this time anarchists have spent long periods in jail. Others, like Giuseppe Pinelli, have been murdered. Two recent programmes on the television series "Europa" have clearly recorded the fascist police collaboration with these bombings and use of anarchists as scapegoats for outrages. The first programme gave overwhelming evidence that fascists were responsible for the killing of 16 people and injuries to 19 at the bank in Milan. It gave film interviews of fascists who spilled tye beans and who later died under mysterious circumstances. It traced the arrest of two fascists who were later charged with the same bombing as Valpreda. The second programme dealt with Pinelli's murder by the police /see "Pinelli Assassinato", this issue/

The latest bombing at Brescia during an anti-fascist rally shows that the fascists are still carrying on with their campaign of terror and fear. Six people lay dead and 94 were injured. Fascist paramilitary training camps have been raided and a shoot-out occurred at an Apennines mountain camp and one person was killed and two injured.

A four-hour general strike in protest against the Brescia bombing brought industry to a standstill. However, unlike the December 12, 1969 bombings the authorities have not automatically accused the 'left' or "the anarchists and all these workers' control people". President Leone said that the Brescia killings were "clear evidence of an attempt by tiny and squalid minorities to throw the state and nation into chaos". It is just such a situation that the fascists want for their takeover. It must be remembered that the fascists gained 3 million votes at the last elections. The ideas of Mussolini are still widespread and many of his supporters are in the police force and have positions of authority. The police is also one of the largest and best-trained in Europe.

Now the Supreme Court has ruled Valpreda's trial null and void. They are not saying that Valpreda did not plant the Milan bank bomb, but want his case to die a silent death. But Valpreda has spent most of the last 4 years in prison during which time his health has suffered. The State should not be allowed to forget its deliberate

ON TUESDAY, 11th June BBC2 showed a Swedish TV film on the death of our Italian comrade Giuseppe Pinelli. Unfortunately it told us nothing new about his death, but brought to a wider public the reason for his death. The Italian state's cover up of the affair, the fascist influence in the police force, and the mounting wave of fascist violence (of which the recent bomb explosion at an anti-fascist meeting in Brescia killing seven people is the latest manifestation).

Pinelli, a railway worker and anarchist militant, was taken to the Milan police headquarters for questioning about a bomb explosion in a Milan bank that killed 16 people in December 1969. During the interrogation, however, our comrade 'fell' from the third floor window of the room in which he was being held. He died on the way to hospital. At first the police said he had committed sui-

cide, but after from Licia (P the newspaper Pinelli's corp examination an tigation was h gation conclud 'fall' from th ed' (which is saying he was police nor the this). Yet de of the investi six policemen terrogation we Pinelli's deat

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## 132 EXPLOSIONS IN SIX MONTHS.

In the "never-ending audacity of elected persons" Mr. Heath exaggerates the shock and horror felt by the whole country when the Commons receives a portent of the political bombs of which up to now the blast has been mainly felt by the common people. Why is it that the people who get hurt by insurrectionary bombs are nearly always workers?

Mr. Nixon completed a jubilant "peace in the Middle East" tour without a word on the plight of the Palestinian people, and as his plane was cheered on its way out, Israeli planes sped on a postponed revenge bombing raid on Lebanon country, said to be farmland.

M.C.

collaboration with the fascists to discredit the anarchists and the working class movement. For if the fascists do attempt another march on Rome it is the sort of industrial action that was used to protest the Brescia bombing that will prevent another fascist dictatorship. The political and economic situation might suit a fascist coup d'etat, but it could also lead to a social revolution with people running and controlling their own lives. It is to this end we should all work.

P, T.

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COUNSEL FOR THE opened his case

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"It has been and that the doctri express their a to be abhorrent ing men. It is untold misery and destruction. I for the break-up lies and the im many individual broadest sence life. It is be greed, ambition acquisition fos ety but the war